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ABSTRACT

A case study is presented of the development of communication between two adults, one a native speaker of English and the other of Mandarin, over a 5-year period in Taiwan and the United States. Based on diary records, tapes, and letters, it was found that social changes in the couple's lives marked changes in their pattern of communication. Ten stages and four schemata of language use (based on speaker's target) were identified. Changes in second language abilities also occurred over time, and a broad picture emerged in which there was a general shift from Chinese to English as the language of primary use. During this evolutionary process, first an English-Chinese pidgin and later a more complex Chinese-English pidgin developed and then declined. Other patterns also appeared: mixing (the intra- and inter-sentential intermingling of native and second language features) and switching (a change in the target language during the course of a conversation). Influences on these patterns at specific states, as well as in particular social situations, are discussed, and a chart of stages shows changes in the second language abilities of the individuals over time. Second language abilities are also divided into listening/speaking and reading/writing and are based on a scale of 0-5. It is concluded that a chart of factors prepared for an individual learner can help guide both teacher and student in a formal language learning situation. (SW)

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MIXING, SWITCHING, AND SHIFT: A CASE OF CHINESE-ENGLISH COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT

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0. Introduction and Background Information

This is a case study of the development of communication between two adults, one a native speaker of English and the other of Mandarin, over a five year period in Taiwan and the U.S. The study is based on diary records, tapes and letters.

Within this paper, "shift" is used to refer to a change of language of primary use over time. "Switching" refers to a change in the target language during the course of a conversation. "Mixing" refers to the intra- and inter-sentential intermingling of L1 and L2 features.

It was found that social changes in the couple's lives marked changes in their pattern of communication and thus ten stages have been defined. Chart 01 (Appendix) is a summary of these stages. Within these stages, four schemata of language use (based on speaker's target) are described. With capital-C referring to the native Chinese speaker and capital-E to the native English speaker, the four schemata are: 1) Chinese-C/Chinese—E; 2) Chinese-C/English-E; 3) English-C/Chinese-E; 4) English-C/English—E. Different schemata predominate during different stages.

The chart of stages also shows changes in the second language abilities of C and E over time. L2 abilities are divided into listening/speaking and reading/writing and are based on a scale of 0-5. The point values are an informal measure of communicative competence which includes discourse and sociolinguistic as well as grammatical ability. The main purpose of the scale is to provide a ready means of comparing C and E over time.

A broad picture emerges in which there is a general shift from Chinese to English as the language of primary use. During this evolutionary process, first an English-Chinese "pidgin" and later a more complex Chinese-English "pidgin" develop and then decline (Bickerton 1977; Ferguson and DeBose 1977; Huebner 1976; Schumann 1978). Various patterns of language mixing and switching appear. These are enmeshed within the schemata of language use. At one stage, a battle between the speakers over the target language predominates. Factors influencing the predominance of particular schemata and mixing and switching patterns at specific stages, as well as in particular social situations, will be discussed.

Various interdependent factors affecting the L2 acquisition of C and E are also described (Cain 1981; Richards and Sampson 1974; Schmidt 1981; Selinker 1972). Influencing factors and their import for C and E

are listed in chart 02 (Appendix). These will be discussed further in the closing remarks.

Before proceeding through the ten stages describing the social and linguistic features of each one, I will give you some background information on the two individuals, C, the Chinese speaker, and E, the English speaker, including an evaluation of their respective linguistic abilities.

C and E met in Taiwan when they were both aged 28. C is bilingual in Hakka Chinese (Hakka), the language of his family, and Mandarin Chinese (Chinese or Mandarin), the language of school and the official language of Taiwan. He also understands and speaks some Taiwan Chinese (Taiwanese), the language of approximately 75% of the population. C's exposure to English has been through foreign language instruction throughout middle-school and high-school. This instruction is given by Chinese teachers and is of the grammar-translation type, depending a lot on written material, dictionary use, and memorization. C attends a technical college at night where he has to read some texts in English. He is neither an excellent student nor a highly motivated one. Non-technical reading material consists of popular magazines. He goes to American movies and watches American TV shows, both with Chinese subtitles. He has a white collar job as an office clerk and no specific plans beyond that. He has never been out of Taiwan nor spoken to a native speaker of English. On a scale of 0-5, his English listening and speaking abilities at this point are virtually 0, and his reading and writing abilities, 1.5. (This is point 0 on chart 01 in the Appendix).

At the time of their meeting, E is monolingual in English. She has had one semester of college Mandarin from a non-native speaker in the U.S. two years prior to her visit to Taiwan. She has an M.A. in TEFL and has taught English to Cantonese-speaking adults in the U.S. She has never been out of North America. Her motivations for going to Taiwan include: 1) a desire to learn more about the Chinese people and their culture, including the Chinese language; 2) a desire to experience culture shock so as to better understand her students' problems and learn more about herself; 3) a desire to gain teaching experience abroad. In summary, E is motivated by both personal satisfaction and career considerations. When she meets C, she has been in Taiwan a total of about seven months, during which time she has been living with an American couple and teaching English. The small number of Chinese friends that she has can speak English. For the first five months of her stay in Taiwan, she listened a lot and spoke little outside of class, which she attended ten hours a week. Class size started out at four and then went to private lessons with the same teacher. After spending one month in Japan knowing no Japanese, E returned to Taiwan feeling more confidant about her Chinese. She began seeking out opportunities to interact in Chinese in her daily life. At this point (point 0 on chart 01), her listening and speaking abilities were about 1, and her reading and writing abilities, virtually 0.

1. Stage 1: Two Months in Taiwan.

This stage begins with the meeting of C and E. During this stage, Mandarin is the mutual target language of the couple and Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) appears. E has a moderate command of Chinese syntax (chinese is uninflected) and is able to use a fair number of Chinese sentence patterns. Her segmental phonology is passable but she must concentrate to produce tones correctly and speaks in citation form, unable to apply any but the most basic tone sandhi rules of conversational speech.

Vocabulary is E's biggest weakness and she inserts English lexical items in her Chinese sentences. C has been exposed to a wide variety of English vocabulary through reading and dictionary work, but his pronunciation is for the most part unintelligible (due to segmental and suprasegmental errors) and his comprehension of aural input is low. He also misuses parts of speech. The pair often spell out English words orally or on paper and use both the English-Chinese and the Chinese-English dictionaries a lot in order to communicate.

It is interesting to note that C's oral use of English words shows influence from mis-storage or mis-retrieval of visual stimuli coupled with application of Chinese patterns of word formation with respect to syllable structure and stress. (Common Chinese compounds are usually no more than three syllables with stress on the first or first and second syllables.) Three types of examples demonstrate these influences on C's English word usage.

1) syllable reduction:
   alienate --> aliate ['a li ɛtʻ] ['a 'li ɛtʻ]
   sincerity --> sincity ['sin si tʻi] ['sin 'si tʻi]
2) mis-concatenating syllables, confusing two or more words (syllable reduction applies):
   expercise ['ɛkʻs pʻʌ sais] ['ɛkʻs 'pʻʌ sais] <-- exercise, experience, expertise
3) confusing the meanings of words which are visually similar:
   experience ~ expedience
   exercise ~ expertise
   acrobat ~ autocrat

Sample 11 is an example of one of the more successful conversations of this stage.

Sample 11: (Q = question particle; EXCL = exclamatory ptcl.)
11.1 E: Nǐ lǐ-bài-liù yào bú yào qù Yáng-Míng shān wán?
        you Saturday want not want go Yang-Ming mountain play
        Do you want to go to Yang-Ming mountain (to relax) on Saturday?
11.2 C: Kě-yǐ.
        can
        OK.

11.3 E: Nǐ yào dài 'picnic' chī ma?
you want carry picnic eat Q
Do you want to take along a picnic lunch?
11.4 C: Hǎo.
good
OK.
11.5 E: Yào bú yào qǐng nǐ-de péng-you Chén gēn wǒ-men yǐ-qí qù?
want not want invite your friend Chen with us together go
Do you want to ask your friend to go with us?
11.6 C: Bú yào.
not want
No.
11.7 E: Wèi-shén-mo?
Why?
11.8 C: Yīn-wèi wǒ bù xǐ-huān tā-de tài-dù
because I not like his attitude
Because I don't like his attitude.
11.9 E: Tài-dù shì shén-mo yì-si?
attitude be what meaning
What does 'tai-du' mean?
11.10 C: Shì...'attitude'. Tā-de pí-qì bù hǎo. Tā tài 'proud' a.
be attitude his spirit not good he too proud EXCL
It means attitude. He has a bad nature. He's too proud.
11.11 C: Bù hǎo wán.
not good play
He's no fun.
(E does not understand 'pí-qì', line 11.10, but does not ask.)

As E realizes how much English vocabulary C knows, she more readily takes refuge in its use. As C gets to know E's vocabulary limitations, he accomodates them by using English lexical items in his speech. In a sense, then, the couple's target becomes English-Chinese, a kind of "pidgin", which employs Chinese grammar as basic coupled with English lexical support.

Vocabulary remains E's greatest weakness in Chinese and something which she does not enjoy consciously working on. In contrast, E devotes much effort to observing Chinese non-verbal behavior. She also focusses on the intonation contours of sentences within conversations she hears. When she speaks, she attempts to mimic the image of a Chinese person which she holds in her mind. In this respect, E is a gestalt-type learner. On the other hand, she also reflects on the structure of Chinese and compares it to English. In this respect, she is analytical.

As far as socializing with others goes, most of E's non-Chinese friends are also students of Chinese and happy to practice on C, while still speaking English among themselves. Among the couple's Chinese friends, there are some who want to practice using English with E. Often a linguistic "battle" ensues in which the less skilled second language speaker ultimately gives up and reverts to speaking his/her

native language. This same conflict arises between C and E later in Stage 5.

During this stage only Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) is used. This is comfortable for the pair because C is not motivated to learn English for the purpose of achieving any personal goals, unlike a number of young people in Taiwan, and E is anxious to practice Chinese. The couple's common goal is communication with each other. Intrasentential mixing is restricted to English content vocabulary as noted.

In spite of vocabulary limitations, by the end of this stage E's Chinese listening and speaking abilities have improved to 2 on a scale of 0 to 5 but her reading and writing skills are still at 0. C's English language abilities remain the same.

2. Stage 2: Five and a Half Months, Long Distance.

This stage begins when E leaves Taiwan for the U.S. During the five and a half months of their separation, E and C communicate by phone, tape and letter. Phone conversations are very short and in the established pattern of Chinese-C/Chinese-E. Taped letters are longer and also in Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) with English lexical support, as established in Stage 1.

The couple switch between English and Chinese in their written letters and it is within the context of letter-writing that English begins to emerge as more than a lexical crutch. In order to write Chinese, E must first write in romanization (which C cannot decipher) and then laboriously translate into characters with the help of a dictionary. She also writes Chinese periodically for a short letter or for a paragraph or two within an otherwise English letter. Her English is in a much more formal (standard) style than she would normally use in letter-writing.

Since E also needs a dictionary to read Chinese, her recognition vocabulary being somewhere between 100 and 200 characters, C tries to write in English. Besides problems with tenses and complex sentence structure, his written English shows traces of Chinese word order as well as infrequent incorporation of Chinese expressions. When he writes Chinese, he does not mix English in. One letter, however, may contain paragraphs of Chinese as well as paragraphs in which English is the target. C and E each require a few days and up to ten hours of work to complete a one-page letter in his/her respective L2.

Note that knowledge of each other's language abilities aids the couple in communicating in the long-distance situation, which bars immediate feedback. However, their acquisition of new material is not much enhanced since they each monitor themselves carefully to suit the other's ability. By the end of this stage, neither C nor E have improved his/her listening and speaking abilities in his/her respective

second language. C's English reading and writing skills are still 1.5 while E's Chinese reading and writing skills have improved to 1.

During this stage, E is so involved with Chinese, that she finds herself unconsciously using Chinese idioms and formulaic expressions in conversations with her American friends, as she was accustomed to doing among her (Chinese-speaking) American friends in Taiwan. Furthermore, E's English vocabulary now suffers from temporary blanks. Even in areas of common and basic lexical items, she has retrieval problems. She can often think of only the Chinese word, or even no word at all! At this time, E also finds herself dreaming in Chinese. These last two phenomena progress in Stage 3.

3. Stage 3: Eight Months in Taiwan.

This stage begins when E returns to Taiwan to live with C. It is marked by E's active development of her Chinese vocabulary and her increased fluency in speech, ultimately including conversational tone sandhi and intonation. E's listening comprehension is way up and she begins working on following group conversations. E also continues private Chinese lessons. By the end of this stage, E is able to pass for Chinese on the phone until the point where she misses a vocabulary item or expression in speaking or comprehending (usually one to two minutes into the conversation).

The couple often have Chinese friends to the house and E must work to avoid getting into English conversations with C's friends who speak good English. Although she cannot participate in talking about a wide range of topics, she works at listening to others conversing and notes new vocabulary. She employs a number of strategies to keep the conversation going even when she cannot follow it exactly. She encourages the speaker to continue by properly using duì 'right'. She is also not shy but judicious about asking for explanation/expansion, which is given in Chinese or English. It is also socially acceptable for her to recede into the background and simply be a non-participating listener.

During this stage, E's primary language of use is Chinese. She reacts spontaneously in it and dreams in it at times. She has fewer American friends in Taiwan now and experiences more and more English lexical retrieval problems. This phenomenon frightens her and causes her to resist Chinese periodically. She also experiences conflict concerning her identity and values due to cultural differences in female role expectations.

Three months into this stage, the couple decide to move to the U.S. C begins some work on his English, mainly vocabulary building. He reads the local English newspaper, magazines, and the English-Chinese dictionary. He also irregularly does exercises in a writing text, which E checks. Although the couple go to American movies together, C does not consciously try to learn any English from them

beyond repeated words or expressions (often formulaic) which he can pull out and ask E about after the movie (e.g. "Ciao!", "What's up?", "double agent", etc.). His focus on written English, the medium through which he was first introduced to English, contrasts with E's eschewal of serious study of written Chinese.

The pair can now make limited use of English phrases when they do not want to be understood by those around them, but the normal language of conversation is still Mandarin, with fewer and fewer English lexical items interspersed. C is exposed to English conversation among E and her Western friends from English and non-English speaking countries, but cannot follow group conversations and is confused by dialect and accent differences. C is not forced to participate using English since almost all of E's friends are students of Chinese.

At times, E is exposed to Hakka spoken within C's family and between the family and Hakka friends who come to the house. C's parents, who spend one to two weeks monthly in C's home in Taipei, speak and understand only Hakka (and perhaps some Japanese). Only C's youngest sister (who is older than C) learned Mandarin, as did her husband. Naturally, C's young nieces and nephews have all learned Mandarin in school. All family members, however, have been exposed to Mandarin to varying degrees, and they all make a special effort to understand the Mandarin E uses when trying to communicate with them. E does not understand Hakka but tries to see correspondences between Mandarin and Hakka words and will ask C to help her compare. In conversations with the family, C translates into Mandarin for E.

Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) is still the main schema of communication at this stage. English lexical items are still used for support but topics of conversation are of a more advanced nature involving specialized vocabulary. To a limited degree, Schema 4 (English-C/English-E) is deliberately used by the couple in public when they want to say something private. During arguments, Schema 2 (Chinese-C/English-E) appears.

By the end of this stage, C's English listening and speaking abilities are about .5 and his reading and writing skills remain about 1.5. E's Chinese listening and speaking abilities approach 3.5 while her reading and writing skills hold steady around 1. Vocabulary development is still her main problem.

4. Stage 4: Four Months in the U.S.

This stage begins when C and E arrive in Honolulu, one month before E is to start her studies in Linguistics at the University. The couple share an apartment with two friends: A, an American who was a student with E in Taiwan, and K, a Hong Kong born Canadian. A has studied Mandarin for a few years. He can hold a conversation as well as read and write to a fair degree. K speaks Mandarin and Cantonese

as well as near perfect English. In as much as Mandarin is the only language all household members use, it is the primary language of the household. However, E and A naturally speak English to each other. E, A and K favor English when speaking to each other in C's absence or when he is present but not in the conversation. C, therefore, hears English at home but does not have to use it since all household members understand Mandarin. C and A are anxious to maintain their Mandarin and therefore engage in Chinese conversation with C. K always uses Mandarin when talking with C. Sample 41 is an example of a typical conversation among the four household members, showing the constant switching and mixing that mark the style of the household.

Sample 41: (dinner at home, K cooked; ASP = aspect marker, Q = question).

41.1 E: This is really great, K.
41.2 K: Thanks. It's really nothing.
41.3 A: Nǐ tài kè-qi.
you too polite
You're too polite/modest.
41.4 K: Ná-li, ná-li.
where where
It's nothing.
41.5 C: Jēn-de! Hěn hǎo chī. Wǒ-men yīng-gāi kāi xiǎo fàn-guǎn-er.
really very good eat we should open little restaurant
Really! It's very good. We should open a little restaurant.
41.6 A: Duì! Wǒ-men liǎng-ge (indicating E) kě-yǐ zuò xiǎo-dì xiǎo-mèi.
right we two can do waiter waitress
Right! We two could be the waiter and the waitress.
41.7 E: Speak for yourself! (laughing) Actually, it would be fun.
41.8 E: Liǎng-ge bái-rén zài zhōng-guó fàn-diàn zuò shì!
two whites be-at Chinese restaurant do work
Two whites working in a Chinese restaurant! (all laugh)
41.9 E: (to C) Nǐ xiǎng zuò shén-mo? Zài fàn-tīng bāng K máng ma?
you think do what at kitchen help K busy Q
What do you plan to do? Help K in the kitchen?
41.10 C: Méi yǒu. Wǒ zuò jīn-lǐ. (laughs)
not have I do manager
No. I'll be manager.
41.11 A: (laughing) Duì, duì!
Right, right!
41.12 E: (to A) What's "jīn-lǐ"?
41.13 A: Manager.
41.14 E: (to C) Ai-yo! Nǐ bú yào zuò tài duō shì le, nǐ!
you not want do too much work ASP you
Boy! You don't want to do too much work, you!
41.15 E: Nà, shéi yào bāng K zuò-cài?
then who want help K cook
Then who will help K cook?
41.16 K: Méi guān-xī. Yī-ge rén zài fàn-tīng zuì hǎo.
no matter one person be-at kitchen most good
Never mind. One person in the kitchen is best.
41.17 E: Dàn-shi, "chef" bù yīng-gāi zuò-cài, duì bú duì?

but the chef not should cook right not right
But the chef shouldn't cook, right?
41.18 E: Tā yào jiào rén-jiā zuò.
he want tell someone-else do
He is to tell someone else to do it.
41.19 K: Wǒ xǐ-huān zuò-cài. It's no fun just to tell someone how.
I like cook
I like to cook.
41.20 E: OK. How about money? Qián zài nǎ-li?
money be-at where
Where's the money?

Out of the house, C and E use Mandarin between themselves. But C hears English around him everyday now. For the first month, before E's classes start, C and E are together most of the time and E uses Chinese in instructing C about English vocabulary and usage in the environment around them (on the bus, shopping, at the beach, on the streets, waiting on lines, etc.). Once E's classes begin, C has occasion to go out on his own. Unlike E in Taiwan, C is treated as a native speaker (a "local") in initial encounters. Tourists even ask him directions and he gets a kick out of trying to give them.

During the first month, E's family comes to visit the couple and C is forced to attempt conversing in English. E helps him with this, as is shown in Sample 42.

Sample 42: (PL = plural marker).
42.1 C: (softly to E's father,F) Where you wan' go today?
[we yu wan ko tútei]
42.2 F: Hah?
42.3 E: Where d'you wanna go t'day?
42.4 F: I dunno. Whadda you suggest?
42.5 E: (to C) Nǐ xiǎng qù nǎ-li?
you think go where
Where do you want to go?
42.6 C: Suí-biàn nǐ-men.
you-PL
It's up to you people.
42.7 E: (to all, clearly for C's benefit) How about driving along the coast and stopping at a few beaches?
(At the very least, C could catch "beaches".)
42.8 F: That's Ok with me if it's OK with everyone else.
(E's family all express agreement.)
42.9 F: C? Is that OK with you?
42.10 C: Sure!

E still addresses C in Chinese even among non-Chinese-speaking friends. She is ready to lend linguistic support when she feels he needs it. C grows to resent E's interventions on his behalf. He almost never did the same for C in Taiwan unless she requested his help.

By October, C has gotten a job as a dishwasher with E's help. On the job, he works at the art of conversation and picks up a lot of young male jargon from his co-workers in the kitchen. When at home, he is inclined to initiate conversations using English when talking with E about job-related events and experiences but the conversation switches to Chinese after a few exchanges. Sample 43 is an example of this.

Sample 43.
43.1 C: Guess what I eat today.
43.2 E: At work, shì bú shì?
be not be
At work, right/wasn't it?
43.3 C: Yah.
43.4 E: Bù zhī-dào.
not know
I don't know.
43.5 C: I eat fresh carrot.
43.6 E: (pause, looks puzzled) You mean raw carrot, not cooked.
43.7 C: Duì. Not cooked.
Right. Not cooked.
43.8 E: Zài Táiwān méi yǒu chī-guò?
be-at Taiwan not have eaten
You'd never eaten it in Taiwan?
43.9 C: Méi yǒu.
not have
No.
43.10 E: Hǎo bù hǎo chī?
good not good eat
Was it good?
43.11 C: Hǎo chī.
good eat
It was good.
43.12 E: Hǎo. Xiàn-zài kāi-shǐ wǒ zuò "sā-la" gěi nǐ chī.
OK now begin I make salad give you eat
OK. Starting from now I'll make salad for you.
43.13 C: Měi-guó "shā-lā" wǒ chī-guò. Wǒ-de yì-si shì wǒ méi yǒu
american salad I eaten my meaning is I not have
chī-guò "carrot" xiàng tù-zi yí-yàng.
eaten carrot like rabbit same
I've eaten American salad before. I mean that I've never eaten a carrot like a rabbit before.
43.14 E: Oh! Nǐ zài fàn-tīng ná yī-gēn hóng-luó-puō jiù chī-diào la!
you be-at kitchen take one carrot just eat-up ASP/EXCL
Oh! While (working) in the kitchen, you took a carrot and just ate it up!
43.15 C: Duì!
Right!
43.16 E: Nèi yàng-zi méi chī-guò. I see.
that way not eaten
You've never eaten it that way. I see.

Acquiring English through conversations with native speakers is new and trying for C and he still spends much of his time working on vocabulary building by reading. At times he seems to have the idea that if he knew the contents of the dictionary, he would be able to speak English. He also watches a lot of TV, mostly news and talk-shows. He makes no contacts on his own, neither American nor Chinese, outside of work and he does not see his work acquaintances off the job.

Throughout this stage, most communication between the couple is still in Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E). As in Stage 3, Schema 2 (Chinese-C/English-E) appears during arguments.

By the end of this stage, C's English listening and speaking abilities are about 1.5 and his reading and writing are about 2, the increase being due to C's regular reading of the newspaper. E's Chinese listening and speaking abilities are holding steady around 3.5. Her minimal reading and writing skills quickly decline to a virtual 0 and remain there. Without the ability to read, her vocabulary weakens rapidly.

5. Stage 5: Eight and a Half Months in the U.S.

This stage begins when C and E move into their own apartment. C changes to another dishwashing job which he finds for himself. He also begins learning to drive and is learning to food shop and go to the laundromat on his own. E encourages his independence and his enculturation begins in earnest.

C feels uncomfortable at American style parties, where people are left on their own to make conversation, because he has trouble both following group conversation and taking a turn. In small groups of friends he is more comfortable and there is less of E translating for C, as she did in the previous stage. However, she periodically checks with him on his understanding since he is loathe to tell an interlocutor that he did not understand something.

C subscribes to and reads the daily newspaper, circling and looking up new vocabulary. He also continues to watch a lot of TV in the hope of learning spoken English from it. It is less threatening than encounters will real live native speakers. With E, C asks about things he heard on TV, tries to converse about things he heard or saw on TV, and uses expressions he learned from TV (especially from advertisements) in his conversations. He continues the latter practice in future stages and it even becomes a source of humor between the pair. For example, in Stage 8, C picks up the expression "macho" from a TV razor commercial promising a "macho close shave" and uses it as an intensifier such as "very", which is a pretty good guess at its meaning given the context in which he heard it. Even after E explains "macho", for a while the pair use the expression "macho close" jestingly between

themselves with the sense of "very close".

Throughout this stage, E wants Chinese to continue to be used, especially at home, so that she won't forget it. However, the English-speaking environment encourages the couple's use of English in three ways: first, social pressures impinge upon them when they are in groups, reinforcing Schema 4 (English-C/English-E); second, C is building up a repertoire of experiences in his new language and is anxious to incorporate them into the new English-speaking context of his life by talking about them in English with E; third, E is using English daily now and Chinese is becoming more and more remote to her. At times, E stubbornly sticks to Chinese and C to English (Schema 3), each using his/her weaker language. They sometimes do this in public, eliciting stares from strangers and chuckles from friends. At other times, E feels she should accomodate C in his endeavor to improve his English conversational ability and she uses English with him. Of course, it is also easier for E to use English and there are times when the struggle to maintain Chinese use is just too much for her. Likewise, C reverts to Chinese when he is tired or when he simply cannot express in English some important thing he wants to say.

This stage, then, is marked by the introduction of Schema 3, (English-C/Chinese-E). However, all four schemata make an appearance. It can no longer be said that one schema dominates, as was so in the past stages, when, for the most part, Chinese was the agreed upon target language of the couple. Social, psychological, and emotional factors team up in various ways to encourage the appearance of particular schemata in particular instances. Let us now look at each schema in terms of its pattern of use.

Schema 1: Chinese-C/Chinese-E. As described earlier, C and E began communicating in Taiwan using Chinese as basic with recourse to English lexical items when necessary. This was the pattern in Stages 1-4. At Stage 5, Schema 1 is still the most comfortable for the couple simply because it was the first established. It came with the relationship and it is still the language that they use in intimate situations. Now, in an English speaking environment, it is the "secret" language of the pair as well, one which they can use in public to say private things.

Schema 2: Chinese-C/English-E. This schema was not used in Stage 1 because C's English comprehension was so low. In Stage 3, it was used in only certain circumstances, primarily during arguments. In Stage 4, this schema again only appeared in limited situations. In Stage 5, however, C's English shows marked improvement. E knows that C can understand her if she speaks careful English. So, when she is not struggling to maintain her Chinese, she naturally slips into using English. Her daily life is no longer conducted in Chinese. She no longer finds herself automatically responding or dreaming in Chinese, as she occasionally did in Stages 2 through 4. (Chinese is, however, the only foreign language she can retrieve in any foreign language

situation. She even mistakes some CV or CVN words she knows in other languages for Chinese words!) C uses Chinese when he is tired or trying to express difficult ideas. Again this schema is the favored one for "heavy" discussions and arguments.

Schema 3: English-C/Chinese-E. This is a new schema initiated by C's use of English as in Sample 43 but sharply developed in Stage 5 as C uses more English and E resists. E's resistance to C speaking English with her is the result of her fear of losing her Chinese and her feeling that the fabric of their relationship will change if they abandon Chinese, the language in which they experienced most of their life together.

A conversation in Schema 3 may possibly end in Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) or 4 (English-C/English-E). Who "wins" the "battle" for language dominance depends on a number of factors including:
1) how tired each individual is;
2) the topic - a. who has better control of appropriate vocabulary,
b. the language the topic is usually associated with;
3) the language with which the context (place, vehicle of communication, etc.) is usually associated;
4) others present (for inclusion or exclusion);
5) simultaneous antagonisms existing between C and E on other levels.

Schema 4: English-C/English-E. This schema was first used in spoken communication in Taiwan during Stage 3 in situations where the couple used English as a private language. In Stage 4, use of this schema was extremely limited (with non-Chinese-speaking friends and family) and E was not threatened by what little English C used. But in Stage 5, when C begins initiating English usage at home, E feels threatened. At home, she only accepts English as the mutual target language when she loses a Schema 3 type battle. However, the environment and C's determination work against E, and it becomes harder and harder for her to use Mandarin effectively as she loses her speaking partner! As time progresses and more of the couple's common life experiences take place in the context of English, Schema 4 communication accounts for a larger percentage of the couple's talk and Schema 3 bouts become shorter and less frequent.

The "English" that the couple speak between themselves at this stage is a kind of "pidgin" involving grammatical simplification of English, likening it to Chinese, as well as the addition of Chinese features to the English base. Since both speakers have access to Chinese, albeit to different degrees, Chinese support strategies are used by both in dynamic process whose function is to maintain communicative interaction at all linguistic costs.

The features of the Chinese-English pidgin used by the couple include reduced morphological marking; absence of articles, infinitive "to", subject pronouns, and the object pronoun "it"; lack of copula use with predicate adjectives; use of Chinese sentential particles marking

mood and aspect; and use of Chinese phrases and sentences to form more complex constructions by aiding in intra- and inter- sentential transitions. Although some of these features have been found to be present in pidgins in general, they also do reflect Chinese usage. As time progresses, the amount of mixing of Chinese phrases with English decreases and its function switches to an affective/expressive one. The other features mentioned appear less and less frequently in C's speech, as will be discussed for later stages, and consequently are used empathetically by E less and less. Sample 51 is an example of a typical "English" interaction between the pair at Stage 5.

Sample 51:
51.1 E: So, how was work today?
51.2 C: Oh, today see car accident go to work.
51.3 E: Anybody hurt?
51.4 C: Nobody hurt dàn-shi sān-bù chē-zi crash le.
but three car ASP
51.5 C: What a mess! Traffic all stop le.
51.6 E: So, you late ma? [ma = Q]
51.7 C: Méi yǒu.
No.

C's utterance in 51.2 looks like an English relexification of a Chinese sentence up to the point of "go to work" finally. In 51.5, it is likely that the phrase "What a mess!" is known holistically. Note that during the course of this short interchange, E has moved from standard English usage in 51.1 to Chinese influenced English in 51.6. We may say that Chinese-English "pidgin" is her target at such a time, in the same way that English-Chinese "pidgin" is C's target when he uses English supported Chinese in speaking to E. They each develop a very personalized "foreigner-talk" (Ferguson and DeBose) which they use with each other.

By the end of this stage, C's English listening and speaking abilities are at 2 as are his reading and writing skills. E's Chinese listening and speaking abilities have declined to 3.

6. Stage 6: Ten Months in U.S.

This stage begins with the second year of the couple's stay in the U.S. (the third year of their relationship). During the couple's summer trip to the mainland to visit E's friends and family, E's family note a vast improvement in C's comprehension and use of English from their first meeting a year earlier. During the trip, the couple spend most of their time among non-Chinese speakers with whom they are highly motivated to integrate. In group situations, Chinese is used only when necessary for clarification. Schema 4 (English-C/English-E) is reinforced.

When the couple return to Hawaii, they are visited by C's family. C and E usually address each other in Mandarin in their company,

although not all of C's family understands Mandarin. E is both happy and nervous at the opportunity to use her Chinese more. She is embarrassed by the decline in her listening and speaking abilities. As in the past, C translates E's Mandarin into Hakka for his non-Mandarin speaking family members. And when translating a Hakka sentence or two addressed to E, C will usually use Mandarin. However, when briefly explaining to E the gist of a lengthy Hakka discussion among the group, he will often use English. C and E also use English between themselves as a way of privately discussing a proposal on the floor. In the family context, then, the couple use both Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) and Schema 4 (English-C/English-E).

In the fall, C begins taking classes at a community college. These include English for foreign students. His English class focusses on listening comprehension and C makes quite a bit of progress in this area. He also gets a job in the school library, where, over the following years, he learns a lot of colloquial English from coworkers. He also reads from books and magazines tht catch his eye on the job and is therefore exposed to more written English than he would have been had he not worked in the library.

This stage is marked by the acknowledgment by both C and E of English as the general target language for the couple. The belligerent Schema 3 (English-C/Chinese-E) rarely appears after mid-stage. This is not to say that Chinese is never used or that C's English is totally understandable or that he understands all of E's English talk.

Regarding the latter point, C's ability to follow English conversational intonation and elision continues to improve, aided by his work in English class. His speech, however, still reflects his book-learned English, although he invests much effort in aural-oral work. Furthermore, C still has difficulty following long stretches of complex English about things not in the here and now, in spite of his continuing to avidly watch news and talk-shows on TV. He also has trouble forming complex English sentences and even more trouble stringing them together in a flowing manner.

As far as the use of Chinese goes, C still tends to resort to Chinese for serious discussions and during arguments, where we find Schema 2 (Chinese-C/English-E) appearing. Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) is employed for certain topics, routinized interactions, and in certain contexts (on the phone for clarity, in public for privacy, etc.). Finally, Chinese is used by both C and E for support in their daily English conversations, as noted in Stage 5.

E is attuned to C's level of English comprehension and monitors her speech to aid C in understanding. She also provides verbal support when C misses input. Depending on the nature of the input, E may translate into Chinese, repeat the English more slowly and clearly and with some revision or expansion, or simply answer for C. An example of the latter occurs the first time C drives up to a gas pump and doesn't

know the routine.

Sample 62: (T = attendant).
62.1 C: Give gas.
62.2 T: Fill 'em up?
62.3 C: (looks at E)
62.4 E: (to T) $5 regular.
62.5 E: (to C) Tā yào zhī-dào nǐ yào bú yào (pause) fill the tank.
he want know you want not want
He wants to know if you want to fill the tank.
62.6 E: Nǐ děi gāo-su tā nǐ yào duō-shǎo yú hái-you shémma yàng-zi-de.
you must tell him you want how-much gas also what kind
You have to tell him how much gas you want and what kind.

The same sort of problem occurs the first time C and E go out for steak and the waitress asks C how he wants his steak. C has no idea what she means. E explains about rare, medium, and well-done in a mix of English and Chinese, and C places his order when the waitress returns. The second time the couple go out for steak, C asks E for a review of the choices before the waitress comes so that he will be prepared to order for himself.

A routine that C is familiar with in Chinese but for which he does not know the English equivalent is that of getting a light for his cigarette from someone else who is smoking. He uses the Chinese expression jiè gè huǒ 'borrow MEASURE fire' as a basis for requesting a light in English and says "Can I borrow fire, please?"

Two extra-linguistic problems which begin to make themselves felt in English interactions, and remain with the couple to Stage 10, are differing norms of response time and eye contact. These cause problems between the pair when E feels C is not paying attention to her based on his lack of eye contact and his slow response time. She gets annoyed and repeats herself a lot, while E gets annoyed with her repeating. Sometimes, when E feels C is not "tuned in" to her speaking English, she switches to Chinese for efficacy. Sample 63 is an example of an interaction of this kind.

Sample 63.
63.1 E: Did you go to the supermarket?
63.2 C: (no reply)
63.3 E: (waits 5 seconds) Did you go to the supermarket?! (louder)
63.4 C: (pause) I went la! (annoyed)
63.5 E: Shēng-qì zuò shén-mo? Wǒ zěn-mo zhī-dào nǐ tīng dào le?
angry do what I how know you hear arrive ASP
What are you angry about? How do I know you heard me?

The Chinese particle la used by C in 63.4 is an emphatic (a) as well as a completive (le) marker. Chinese has no past tense but the particle le marks perfective aspect, as in the English sense of having done something already. So C is truly being most emphatic by

using the English past AND the Chinese completive marker as well as the Chinese emphatic marker. We will see in Stage 10 that C continues to rely to some extent on Chinese aspect and mood markers, these final particles.

By the end of this stage, C's English listening and speaking skills are approaching 3 as are his reading and writing skills. Meanwhile, E's Chinese listening and speaking skills are slipping below 3.

7. Stage 7: Three Months, Long Distance.

During the summer, C visits Taiwan and E goes to the U.S. mainland. Their written communications are primarily in English with only the formulaic affectionate letter openings and closings sometimes in Chinese. Once in a while, C will write in his own version of Romanized Chinese, which is somewhat influenced by his knowledge of English spelling but is not regularized. Irregularities involve using the same spelling for different sounds while using different spellings for the same sound, even in multiple occurrences of the same word. See Sample 71.

Sample 71: (compare the underlined segments under "C" with the corresponding spellings in IPA and Pin-yin).

Character	Pin-yin	IPA	C	English
	le	lɤ--> lə	ler	completive ptcl.
	de	tɤ--> tə	der	possessive ptcl.
	gēn	kən	g_ñ	with
	míng	miŋ	míng	(name) bright
	tíng	t'iŋ	tín	(name) graceful
	tīan	t'iɛn	{tēing tēin	day
	xián	ɕiɛn	hsíen	(name) elegant
	tiān	tiɛn	tēin	day
	méi	mei	méi	every
	yī (tiān)	ʔi	yèe (tein)	one
	yí-dìng	ʔi	yée din	surely
	yí-yàng	ʔi	í yàn	same
	yào	jaʊ	iàu	want
	bào	paʊ	bàɔ	wrap
	wǒ	wɔ	wǒ	I
	yǒu	jou	yǒ	have
	dōu	tou	dōu	all
	shǒu	ʂou	shǒw	hand
	tài	t'ai	tài	too
	hái	xai	híre	still

C's written English, though far from perfect, shows improvement from Stage 2 (three years previous) in the use of complex sentence structure and tenses as well as in flowing like spoken English. He is able to recount anecdotes and express humor successfully. In his first letter, he jokes about his spelling by using Albercookie for Alberquerque, the strange spelling of which had been discussed before the couple left Hawaii. (Alburquerque is where E is staying.) He spells it correctly on his envelopes but continues to use Albercookie, which matches his pronunciation, in his letters.

At this stage, C's letters are also full of socio-cultural comparisons between the U.S. and Taiwan. In the following example, he jokes about eating habits he acquired in the U.S. which are surprising to his conservative country family.

Sample 72.
Before today's dinner, I ate fresh carrot, white carrot [turnips] and even marshoon [mushroom]. Guess what my mother said to me. She said "You are like barbarian, mountain people [Taiwan aborigines] also" I laughed and explained how I had experience in U.S.A.

Phone conversations are in Chinese and English. E often uses Chinese because C understands her more readily and time is of the essence and because she has a roommate and wants her conversation to be private. English lexical items appear within her Chinese. By the same token, C uses English to ensure privacy on his end and so the schema English-C/Chinese-E reappears, but this time the antagonism is not present. It is simply employed for convenience. When C is not being overheard on his end, however, he will also use Chinese since the pair have trouble understanding each other's English over the phone where visual cues are absent. Phone conversations, therefore, are marked by a reversion to the Stage 1 communication schema of Chinese-C/Chinese-E with English lexical support.

At the end of this stage, there is virtually no change in their respective listening/speaking and reading/writing skills.

8. Stage 8: Nine Months in the U.S.

This stage begins one month into the couple's third year in the U.S. (the fourth year of their relationship), after their summer separation. C's English classes focus on reading and writing and he makes some more progress in this area. But his real interest has turned to social and cultural matters in the matrix of spoken English. He is concerned with understanding varieties of spoken English, correctly using colloquial expressions, and generally carrying on conversations. C rejects E's linguistic intervention on his behalf as well as her unsolicited linguistic explanations.

C is exposed to plenty of Hawaiian English among the guys in his

automotive mechanics classes (Automotive Mechanics is his major) and in rapping with a local neighbor, often about their cars. He watches sports on TV regularly and subscribes to "Sports Illustrated" (as well as to car magazines). He knows the team names and the specialized terminology of a variety of games. His friends at school also instruct him on how to talk about drugs, women, and other topics which come up in their conversations. He also keeps up with the news and so is developing quite a repertoire of topics to talk about, unlike E in Taiwan.

C is actively interested in acculturation at this stage. This includes a concern about understanding American humor. He avidly watches comedians perform on TV variety shows and hates to miss "Saturday Night Live" and "Fridays". He will occasionally attempt mimicing comedians for E's benefit. He also practices joke-telling on E.

At this stage, Chinese is rarely used by C with E, other than for support. E intermittently initiates a conversation in Chinese, especially over the phone. C rarely responds in Chinese, however, and E often gives up after just a few exchanges. This limited use of Schema 3 (English-C/Chinese-E) differs from its relatively extensive use in Stage 5 (about two years previous), when there was a battle over the target language. Sample 81 is an example of a phone conversation which begins in Schema 3 and ends with E switching to English.

Sample 81: (E calls C at home from school, not an infrequent occurrence).

81.1 E: Wéi?
Hello?
81.2 C: Yes?
81.3 E: Nǐ yào bú yào lái jiē wǒ?
you want not want come meet me
Do you want to come and pick me up?
81.4 C: M-m?
81.5 E: Yào bú yào lái jiē wǒ?
Do you want to come and pick me up?
81.6 C: How about ... 20 minutes?
81.7 E: Wèi-shén-mo?
Why?
81.8 C: I'm watching news.
81.9 E: Hǎo. Èr-shí fēn zhōng. Bú yào tài jiù le.
OK twenty minutes time not want too long ASP
OK. Twenty minutes. Don't be too long.
81.10 E: Bú yào ràng wǒ zài wài-miàn děng nǐ.
not want make me at outside wait you
Don't make me wait outside for you.
81.11 C: Ai-yo! Take the bus then!
81.12 E: No! Just come in 20 minutes.
81.13 C: OK. It's 5:15 now, right?
81.14 E: Right. I'll see you at 5.:35.
81.15 C: OK. Bye.

81.16 E: Bye.

Unlike in previous stages, E's English to C is, for the most part, Standard rather than pidginized. At the end of this stage, C's English listening/speaking and reading/writing abilities are 3.5. E's Chinese listening and speaking abilities have declined to 2.5.

9. Stage 9: (three months).

As in Stage 7, C goes to Taiwan and E to the U.S. mainland during the summer. Their letters are virtually all in English. This is also true for the one tape they exchange. Their phone conversations are mostly English which was not the case in Stage 7, a year previous. Three factors support their mutual use of English on the phone at Stage 9. First, there is often someone on C's end who will be able to listen in on his Chinese. Second, there is no-one else listening on E's end. And third, C and E both understand each other's English over the phone better than they did in Stage 7. E does sometimes initiate the use of Chinese over the phone, especially for intimacy. In these instances, C responds in Chinese if no-one is with him at his end.

At the end of Stage 9, there is virtually no change in the L2 proficiency of either of the pair.

10. Stage 10: Eight Months (to Present) in the U.S.

This is the couple's fourth year in the U.S. (the fifth year of their relationship). Upon returning to Hawaii, the couple agree that E should practice Chinese in preparation for their both visiting Taiwan the next year. E renews her efforts to strike up conversation in Chinese and C complies. For the first few weeks, such attempts occur almost daily. After a couple of months, they are less frequent and E needs to remind C to cooperate with her in using Chinese. Such conversations revert to English within a few minutes. It is typical that the switch is initiated by C. Sometimes this is instigated by E's use of an English lexcial item for support. In Sample 101 on your handout, the switch is introduced by C's use of a common and convenient English expression "Forget it!" in 101.10.

Sample 101.
101.1 E: Hey! Jīn-tiān wǎn-shàng nǐ yào bú yào chū qù wán?
today evening you want not want out go play
Hey! Do you want to go out and do something this evening?
101.2 C: (shrugs) I don't care.
101.3 E: Nǐ yáo jiǎng zhōng-wén bāng wǒ liàn-xí a!
you want talk Chinese help me practice EXCL
You're supposed to speak Chinese to help me practice!
101.4 C: Hǎo a! (smiling) Xiàn-zài kāi-shǐ jiǎng zhōng-wén.
OK! now begin talk Chinese
OK! Now let's begin talking Chinese.
101.5 E: Hǎo. Wǒ zài wèn nǐ yào bú yào chū qù?

OK. I again ask you want not want out go
OK. I'll ask you again - do you want to go out?
101.6 C: Chū qù zuò shén-mo?
out go do what
Go out and do what?
101.7 E: Wǒ bù zhī-dào. Wǒ wèn nǐ.
I not know I ask you
I don't know. I asked you.
101.8 C: Hǎo. Wǒ-men qù chī bīng-qí-lín , hǎo bù hǎo?
OK. we go eat ice-cream good not good
OK. We'll go eat ice-cream, alright?
101.9 E: Hǎo. Zǒu-lù qù.
OK. walk go
OK. Let's walk.
101.10 C: Forget it! You walk. I'll meet you there.
101.11 E: Ai-yo! Nèn-mo lán!
so lazy
My goodness! You're so lazy!
101.12 C: You can walk. I'll take the car.
101.13 E: Never mind. We'll take the car.
101.14 E: Yī-ge rén zǒu-lù méi yǒu yī-si.
one person walk not have interest
It's not interesting to walk alone.
101.15 C: (laughs) Lazy!

By the time four months have passed, attempts to practice Chinese have disappeared, although Chinese is still used occasionally in routinized exchanges, such as call to dinner. Another instance in which C and E may use Chinese together occurs when the couple go out with Chinese couples, who, however, also speak English. As switching takes place among the foursome, C and E may address each other in Chinese. C and E also still use Chinese as a private language in public occasionally.

At this stage, C is finally confidant about his English, and so is E. She rarely finds herself monitoring C's understanding of English input. She expects him to figure things out for himself or ask if he wants her help. She no longer finds herself constantly monitoring her own speech to C.

Eye contact and timing are no longer major problems for the couple -- C has closed the gap somewhat in these areas. But an even finer area of difficulty has come to light. This has to do with assumed hearer knowledge on the part of the speaker. C assumes more shared knowledge between himself and E when he addresses her than she does when she addresses him. So E is always requesting more information from C, who seems to jump too quickly to the point while E needs more support information. Contrastively, C finds E verbose. He often interrupts her, impatient with what he views as E plodding through redundant or extraneous obfuscation of the heart of the matter.

When trying to check this notion out with C by overtly asking him about it, E was a few sentences into her introduction to the topic, when C interrupted with "Ai-yo! I'll go wash my hair and come back when you get to the point!" There was no need to check with him further!

To what extent this difference in assumed hearer knowledge is relatable to personal factors and to what extent it is relatable to culturo-linguistic ones is a question in need of further investigation. However, corroboration for the notion that culturo-linguistic factors may play a part has come from both Asian and American friends in the form of anecdotes about cross-cultural communication problems. One friend related that her Vietnamese teacher described precisely the same problem that I have for C and E as existing between speakers of Vietnamese and English. His insight is based on complaints he has heard from both sides over the years.

Throughout this stage, C learns much from friends at school and even brings home Hawaiian English, which E knows little of. He is no longer dependent on E for explanation. He feels free to ask his school friends what something means and how to use it. When he picks up on something new, he practices using it a lot. He did this with Hawaiian English negatives "can not" and "no can" for a while. The latter construction parallels the Chinese. An example of C's use of "no can" is extracted from a letter of Stage 9 in which he is talking about the beaches in Taiwan. He says, "No can compare with our beaches in Hawaii."

C also feels freer to take a risk and be creative with his knowledge of English. For example, using his knowledge of adjective formation in talking about two brands of ice-cream, he says one is more "coffee'" aiming at "coffee-y". He also invents the expression "vice-allergy" to refer to what he views as allergic symptons which he "caught" secondarily from E, who has allergies.

C's growing confidence in his English is also shown in his increasing willingness to joke about his usage. Some background is necessary before the next example is presented. C's queries as to why certain English words are spelled or pronounced "strangely" are often answered by E with "That's because it's a French word borrowed into English." One time when C uttered an incomprehensible word which he was trying unsuccessfully to retrieve from his memory and E said she didn't understand his pronunciation, C laughed and said, "That's because it's a French word!"

C also enjoys punning cross-linguistically, as seen in Sample 102. Punning is a favorite kind of Chinese humor since the language has so many homophones and near homophones.

Sample 102: (about a TV show). (PSSV = possessive marker)
102.1 E: Why's he bombing everything?
102.2 C: He's bombing for fun. ("fun" = [fan])

103.3 C: (pause) Chī-fàn de fàn. ("fàn" = [fàn])
eat-food PSSV food
"Food" as in "eat food".
102.4 C: (laughing) He's bombing to eat "fàn"!
102.5 C: (pause) Yeah, he needs food.
102.6 C: He's bombing for food to eat. (both laugh)

The Chinese method of clarifying the meaning of a word, as in 102.3, is used in by both C and E (mostly C) for clarifying English words as well, as shown in Sample 103.

Sample 103.
103.1 E: Oh shit! I have a run in my tights!
103.2 C: (pause) "Run fast" de "run"?
The "run" of "run fast"?/"Run" as in "run fast"?
103.3 E: M-m. (smiling) "Run fast" de "run".
103.4 E: See, it's running up my leg.

Although C has now learned many words aurally, without recourse to a written sample, it not known whether and to what extent he depends on a spelling of his own in the storage of these words. At one point, shortly after hearing the Yiddish word "meshugunah" used between E and a friend, C begins trying to use it, calling E "magnet" and then "magnum" (from the TV show "Magnum PI"). E repeats the word for him a number of times and later that same evening he sits down and tries to write it: magnun --> mashigma --> mashigna. The writing seems to be an important part of the learning for him.

There is also evidence that C still retrieves infrequently used words originally learned through visual stimuli from visual memory when speaking, even though he has heard the word since. For example, in trying to recall "psychiatrist", he says ['sai 'čai ťis]. Note the reduction to three syllables and misapplication of stress, as noted earlier in Stage 1.

Misapplied stress is sometimes frozen into a word. This is so with C's persistent pronunciation of "guitar" as "gui´ tar". Another fozzilized error involves overanalysis and subsequent lack of morphological marking in C's use of "glass" for "glasses" ("eyeglasses").

C's surface grammatical errors include lack of morphological marking on verbs, lack of plural marking on nouns, and dropping of articles. He also, but to a lesser extent, tends to leave out subject pronouns and the object pronoun "it", and often uses predicate adjectives without the copula. These errors reflect Chinese usage and occur on an average of every sixth sentence. Samples 104-108 provide examples of these kinds of errors.

Sample 104 (talking about C's fixing the car):
104.1 E: So whadja do?

104.2 C: I just tight it up. Hope it work.
(I just tightened it up. Hope it works.)

Sample 105 (in the morning):
105.1 E: (surprised) You did the dishes!
105.2 C: M-m. Before I sleep. (Before I slept.)
105.3 E: I didn't even see.
105.4 C: Last night!

Sample 106 (talking about E's weight):
106.1 C: I always say you sneaky. (I always say you're sneaky.)
106.2 E: Sneaky?!
106.3 C: (laughs) Skinny!

Sample 107.
107.1 C: If you weren't in Taiwan I wouldn't here.
(If you hadn't been in Taiwan I wouldn't be here.)
107.2 E: You can't say "I wouldn't here".
107.3 C: (pause) I wouldn't be here. What's the difference?

Sample 108: (talking about a sentential particle).
108.1 E: But how do I use it?
108.2 C: YOU don't have to use. If you want to use, you can put at the end of a sentence, like a period.

Another type of error stems from misuse of a frame and slot sentence pattern. The strategy of frame and slot is very useful in Chinese language learning (Poggi 1982) but the added difficulty of matching inflectional/derivational marking among sentential elements necessitates caution in using this strategy with English. For example, the basic pattern "It's coming up" is coupled with C's knowledge of where to place the auxiliary "gonna" and the negative "not". The result is "It's not gonna coming up", said in predicting the behavior of a broken toaster.

Chinese sentential particles still appear once in a while in C's speech. For example, while C and E are eating a dinner C cooked, C says, "Good ma?", employing the Chinese question particle. The completive aspectual particle is also used by C as in 63.4, "I went la!" The particle a , which is used in Chinese to express a wide variety of moods including interrogative, exclamatory, mild imperative, and dubitative, is used at the end of English sentences by C in much the same fashion with much the same meanings. E no longer uses Chinese sentential particles with English as she did in earlier stages (51.6).

C also has developed a sentence final particle of his own. It is the word "dou" [tɔ]. It's meaning and pattern of usage is not clear. For example, while looking in the refrigerator, C said, "We got plenty of food dou." And another example: "You're busy with homework. I'm going to be busy later dou."

When questioned about where he heard this word, C shrugged his shoulders. When asked if it was the English word "though" or the Chinese particle lo or some combination thereof, he also did not know. But he says, "It's not Chinese dou." Note that Hawaiian English employs "though", as well as "but", sentence finally more frequently than Standard English and this may be influencing C's usage.

When asked what "dou" means, C says it's something like the Chinese nǐ zhī-dào ma? "Do you know?" used at the end of a sentence to mean "Ya know?" When E asks C, "But how do I use it?", C says, "YOU don't have to use [it]. If you want to use [it], you can put [it] at the end of a sentence, like a period."

Whatever the precise use and meaning of "dou" may be, it no doubt parallels Chinese sentential aspect and mood particles and perhaps developed under the influence of sentence final use of English "though", although its semantic function seems not to be identical with the latter.

At the end of this stage, C's English language abilities are still level at 3.5. E's Chinese abilities, however, have eroded further to 2.

It is clear that C's English has come a long way in five years. The influence of Chinese is less and less apparent. His reliance on visual English input has become minimal as his focus has moved to conversation. Although he still mis-memorizes words, expressions, and sentence patterns, he also mis-analyses and misinterprets them where earlier he did little in the way of analysis and interpretation. However, even after four years in the U.S., we see Chinese still subtly influencing the couple's inter-communication pattern. Perhaps, then, Chinese influence on C's speech is more likely to occur in the presence of E than among his non-Chinese speaking American friends. Unfortunately, I have collected no data of the latter type. It remains to be seen what pattern of communication will develop when the couple return to Taiwan.

11. Summary and Remarks

I would like to close with a brief discussion of the dynamics of the evolutionary process of shift in language use described here. The graph in 111 (Appendix) and the chart of stages in 01 will provide visual support during this discussion.

Focussing on L2 listening and speaking abilities, we can see from the graph that although E's Chinese proficiency was low at the time of the couple's initial meeting, it was higher than C's English proficiency. Furthermore, the couple were in Taiwan, E was motivated to learn Chinese, and C was not motivated to learn English. All of these factors led to the use of Schema 1 (Chinese-C/Chinese-E) in Stage 1.

The use of this schema continued to predominate in Stage 2, during which time it was planned that E would return to Taiwan. Back in Taiwan during Stage 3, Schema 1 continued to be the primary communication pattern. Because of E's limited Chinese vocabulary and C's complementary knowledge of English vocabulary, English is used regularly for lexical support in the couple's Chinese interchanges. This pattern continues to appear during the couple's first few months in the U.S. (Stage 4) while the general target language is still Chinese.

Stages 5-6 in the U.S. are marked by various patterns of mixing and switching between Chinese and English. Stage 5 is marked by a battle over the target language and the frequent appearance of Schema 3 (English-C/ Chinese-E). At this time, E's Chinese proficiency begins to decline as C's English proficiency begins to increase. E fears the loss of hard-earned Chinese language abilities without C to use Chinese with, and she is threatened by the possibility of change in the fabric of their relationship, which up until then had been conducted in Chinese. And so she resists C's attempts to converse in English.

E persists in asserting the use of Chinese through Stage 7, while C still depends on Chinese to a great extent well into Stage 6. In spite of these facts, the frequency of the appearance of English as the mutual target language of the couple is steadily increasing in Stage 6. This is due to C's determination coupled with environmental pressures on E. By the end of Stage 6, English is the target at least 50% of the time. C makes his greatest improvement in English during this stage, moving up one point from 2 to 3.

The English used by the couple at this point is based on a mix of Chinese and English structural patterns with Chinese words, phrases and sentences mixed in, the latter two for support in discourse management. Single Chinese lexical items are often used for expressive or affective purposes rather than for their informational content and therefore appear even when the English equivalent is known. Switching to a Chinese sentence may mean switching to the English-Chinese pattern dominant in Stages 1-4, where English lexical items are inserted in otherwise Chinese utterances. Thus, their Chinese-English is more complex than their English-Chinese was since it incorporates a near equal L2 knowledge by both speakers, lack of firm commitment to a target language, as well as a history of patterns of language use. The complex interchange among Chinese, English, English-Chinese, and Chinese-English involves both communicatively facilitative exchange and communicatively debilitating conflict.

Stages 8-10 are mainly periods of leveling off, as can be seen from the graph in 111. Looking at the graph, we are left to hypothesize what will happen to the two lines, marked C and E, if the couple live in Taiwan for an extended period in the near future.

Assuming that the couple's use of Chinese as the primary target increases while their use of English as target decreases, we may expect a decline in C's L2 abilities and a concomitant rise in E's L2 abilities. At what level and after what period of time C and E will once again level off is a matter which depends on the interaction of individual learning factors which shape their communicative lives together. Potentially, if the couple keeps moving back and forth between Taiwan and the U.S. switching the primary target language each time, graph 111 may be indefinitely extended as two opposing sine waves, perhaps on a slight incline and perhaps not.

Returning to chart 03 (Appendix), Factors in L2 Acquistion, we can compare C and E as language learners. If we count each plus (+) as +1 point and each minus (-) as -1 point, then totalling C's and E's respective points, we see that type III factors (Socio-cultural and Affective) operated in C's favor in spite of his weakness in areas I (Linguistic and Cognitive) and II (Psychological and Personality). And we see that while E's learning is enhanced by type I and II factors, she's inhibited by her weaknesses in area III. A look at graph 111 shows us that E reached an estimated L2 proficiency level of 3.5 in a total of 22.5 months of naturalistic L2 contact, including the 7 months she spent in Taiwan prior to meeting C. C reached an L2 proficiency level of 3.5 34 months after his arrival in the U.S., taking about a year longer to reach the same L2 proficiency level as C.

I hesitate to come to any conclusions about the precise nature of the role of each of the three different types of factors in affecting the difference in the rate of acquisition of C and E because of the delicate interplay among them and because the list presented here is not assumed to be exhaustive. However, I suggest that the totality of an individual's profile needs to be considered in any research on the nature of L2 acquisition and generalizations must be made cautiously especially when based on case studies. A model for the kind of thorough individualized research that is needed is the current project on ind vidual differences being carried out by Lily Fillmore and Susan Ervin-Tripp at Berkeley (Fillmore 1982).

In closing, I would like to note that a chart of factors, such as the one in 02, prepared for an individual learner can be helpful as a guide to both teacher and student in a formal language learning situation. A student profile can be developed and updated through a number of techniques -- for example, through teacher-student conferences, oral or written student autobiographical sketches, and student group interchanges in which student A collects data and reports on student B. While gaining practice in using English, the student is also working on a very real and personal project which can enhance her learning as both she and the teacher become better able to evaluate her individual L2 experience and become better prepared to capitalize on her strengths and strengthen her weaknesses.

APPENDIX

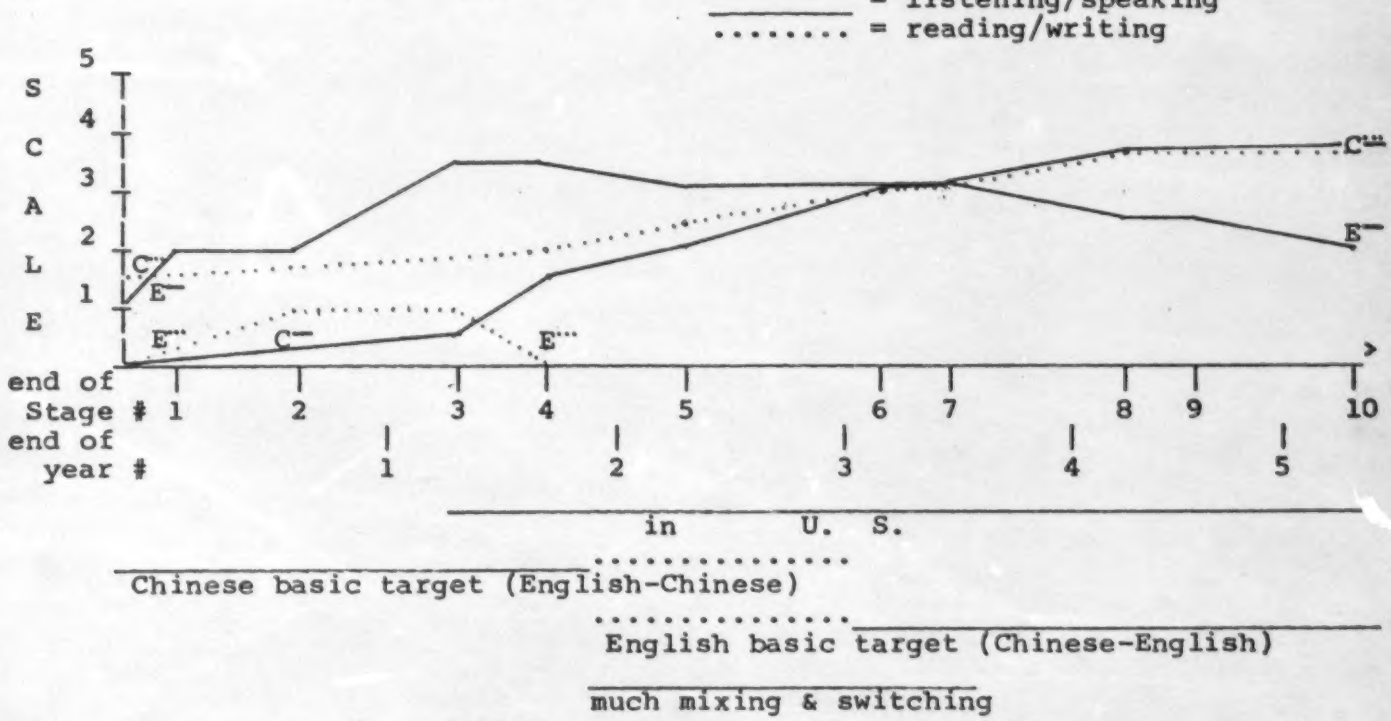
01 Evolutionary Stages in C & E Intercommunication

Stage	(point 0)	1	2	3	4
Duration		2 mos.	5.5 mos.	8 mos.	4 mos.
Place	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan-U.S.	Taiwan	U.S.
Speaker	C E	C E	C E	C E	C E
Schema		Chin./Chin.	spoken: Chin./Chin. written: Chin./Eng. Eng./Chin. Eng./Eng.	Chin./Chin. situational: Chin./Eng. Eng./Eng.	Chin./Chin. situational: Chin./Eng. Eng./Eng.
(at end of stage)					
L2 list/spk	0 / 1	0 / 2	0 / 2	.5 / 3.5	1.5 / 3.5
L2 rdg/wrtg	1.5 / 0	1.5 / 0	1.5 / 1	1.5 / 1	2 / 0

(cont'd.)

5	6	7	8	9	10
8 mos.	10 mos.	3 mos.	9 mos.	3 mos.	8 mos.
U.S.	U.S.	Taiwan-U.S.	U.S.	Taiwan-U.S.	U.S.
C E	C E	C E	C E	C E	C E
Chin/Chin. Chin./Eng. Eng./Chin. Eng./Eng.	Eng./Eng. Chin/Chin Chin/Eng. Eng/Chin.	written: Eng./Eng. spoken: Chin./Chin. Eng./Chin.	Eng./Eng. infrequent: Chin./Chin. Eng./Chin.	written: Eng./Eng. infr.spoken: Chin./Chin.	Eng./Eng. infrequent: Eng./Chin.
2 / 3	3 / 3	3 / 3	3.5 / 2.5	3.5 / 2.5	3.5 / 2
2.5 / 0	3 / 0	3 / 0	3.5 / 0	3.5 / 0	3.5 / 0

111 Overview of Stages



02 Factors in L2 Acquisition	C	Influence*	E	Influence*
I. Linguistic & Cognitive				
prior extended exposure to L2	10 yrs.	+	5 mos.	+
quality of prior L2 exposure	poor	-	good	0
favored input mode for L2	reading	-	listening	-
gestalt vs. analytic	both	+	both	+
monitor use decrease	to judicious	+	judicious	+
memory	fair	0	fair	0
linguistic awareness	lo	0	hi	+
current L2 exposure	ample	+	ample	+
		= 2		= 4
II. Psychological & Personality				
imitative ability	good	+	good	+
flexible	no	-	yes	+
inquisitive	no	0	yes	+
fear of loss of face; proud	yes	-	no	0
valuing self-reliance	hi	+	med	0
outgoing	no	0	yes	+
motivation: drive	lo	0	hi	+
type integrative & practical		+	educ. & pract.	0
		= 1		= 5
III. Socio-cultural & Affective				
interaction: type	varied	+	limited	0
amount	low to increasing	+	med	+
reliance on partner	decreasing	0	med & steady	-
communicative need	hi	+	med	0
intended length of residence	indefinite	0	temporary	-
ingroup cohesiveness	lo	+	med	0
feeling identity/values threatened	lo	0	hi	-
attitude toward natives & L2	good	0	good	0
expect. for new environ. satisfied	no	-	partially	0
natives' expectations of learner	"local"	+	foreigner	0
		= 4		= -2

* + = +1 (positive influence)
- = -1 (negative influence)
0 indicates "not influential"

The idea for this kind of tabulation came from Schmidt (1981). The factors listed, however, are gleaned from discussions in a number of sources listed in the References.

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